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AN
ADDRESS
TO THE
PEOPLE
OF
GREAT BRITAIN.



[Price ONE SHILLING.]



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AN
ADDRESS
TO THE
PEOPLE
OF
GREAT BRITAIN,
ON THE
MEETING
OF
PARLIAMENT.

“Keep your Loyalty,
“And live your King and Country’s best support.”

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AND D R E S S

OF THE

ROYAL ARTILLERY

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ARTILLERY





A N
A D D R E S S S, &c.

My Fellow Countrymen!

A S a member of the community, equally interested in its welfare with yourselves; permit me to submit the following thoughts, on the opening of parliament, to your consideration. It is an event of the utmost importance, because it is an event which will acquaint us with the real situation of our country, if we do but regard it with candor and attention. We must not rely on every representation which
may

may be given;—we must collect facts as well as we are able, and from thence draw our own conclusions.

The customary conduct of those who have dared to assume the name of Patriots, a name which used to dignify the character to whom it was applied, but which by their assumption is become a term of reproach, will no doubt be preserved on that occasion. The house will re-echo with their repetitions of every event, which has been unfavorable to this country; while they will attempt to oblivate every fortunate occurrence. To the weakness or the wickedness of administration will the one be attributed: while the other, should it be drawn from that obscurity, with which they will, no doubt, attempt to veil it, will be pronounced the effect of chance. Thro' what vicissitudes

situdes will the ministers pass on that day! To them will be ascribed the power of controlling the elements, that to them may be assigned the miscarriage of our fleets: to them will be attributed omnipotence, that to them may be imputed the will to effect nothing: one minute will they exalt them to deities, that the next they may debase them to demons: in short, the walls will reverberate their clamours; and the necessity of a revolution in the cabinet be, as usual, the end of all their arguments. But, my fellow-countrymen! the sacred term of patriotism has, in modern days, been uniformly prostituted to the purposes of faction: let us not therefore be deceived by those, who affect to enlist under its banner.

Instead of relying on the assertions of any party, let us ourselves examine the
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conduct of administration ; and the more accurately to investigate the truth, let us consider the difficulties which they have had to encounter. Let us not forget, that alone, and unassisted, Britain has had to contend with two of the most potent powers of Europe ; powers too, professedly in league with her own rebellious colonies ;—that her enemies began the war, after a long and uninterrupted peace, which afforded time and opportunity to recruit their force, and increase their power : that England, for a long space of time, had been unhappily contending with her colonies, and for three years preceding the war, had been actually engaged in reducing them to a due sense of their allegiance ; and that, in this conflict, rebellion was secretly assisted by the perfidious arts of our European neighbours. You will consider, that from some cause, which,

which, tho' not yet legally proved, is ere this evident to the world, the vast force, which Britain sent forth to reduce her colonies to constitutional subjection, failed in effecting her well-planned measures: that the glorious, golden opportunity of humbling her gallic foe, was lost by those, who were entrusted with the command: and you will consider, that she has had a foe, still more formidable than all of these, to combat; a foe, who under the mask of friendship, who, under the specious name of Patriotism, has been preying on her very vitals, and undermining her very fabric. When you have reflected on these incidents, advert to the conduct of our ministers, in obviating such difficulties; in still preserving our welfare unimpaired, amidst this siege of troubles. In this scrutiny, it will be manifest that, with a detachment of men in America, they

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have been able to effect more, than before was effected with vast and veteran armies; that with a very small force, scarcely meriting the appellation of a squadron, a marine has been destroyed, which flourished, when opposed by a grand fleet. That they have sent into the West-Indies a force, which, during great part of the war, has been able to block up the French in their harbours; and tho' the preservation of our possessions, in that quarter of the world, has not been so effectual as we could wish,—yet that even there, in our most vulnerable part, we have still force sufficient to keep our enemies in awe, and I trust, to regain that which we have lost. That in Europe, though we have not obtained such splendid victories, as have graced the annals of former times, yet that from the moment in which our confederated foes were bold enough to
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avow their inimical intentions, no time has been lost: a powerful navy has been assembled, well manned, and well stored, with expedition never known before; and with a vigour which scarce any other nation has been capable of exerting.

I am well aware it will be said, that notwithstanding these exertions, the French were at sea, and had effected a junction with their allies, before we had quitted our harbours; the truth of this I mean not to deny; but I shall contend that notwithstanding these apparent advantages, our fleet was as forward as theirs, and our conduct in not sending it from port, perfectly justifiable. You will recollect that although they sailed, that although they joined the Spaniards; yet that they found it impossible so early in the season to keep the sea for any long

space of time, for want of a necessary quantity of stores; and were soon obliged to return to France. Had it been possible for us so completely to have equipped our navy, as to have prevented the necessity of a return, at the time when our enemies first quitted Brest, it would have been of the utmost consequence to have sailed before them; because the junction of our foes might have been prevented. But as the same circumstances which attended them would at that time have attended us, such a measure would have been detrimental rather than advantageous. For though the Spaniards on the appearance of our superior force would have remained in their harbours, and their confederates have done the same; yet, when the consumption of our provisions, which must in a short time have taken place, had obliged us to return, they
might

might easily have united, and whilst we were recruiting, have committed uncontrouled their depredations on our trade. By pursuing a contrary measure, by waiting till we had completely manned and sufficiently stored our fleet, we were ready to watch every motion and take every advantage, while they were refitting in their harbours. At the period of our sailing, it was of much more importance for our force to be at sea, than it was before; because at this time our commercial fleets were expected home. With respect to our mercantile interests therefore this measure has been such, as must fully vindicate the projectors of it from blame; by it our trade has been protected, while that of our enemies has been harassed and distressed. And notwithstanding the combination of their fleets they have neither ventured to
attack

attack our armaments, nor invade our coast.

When you have deliberated on these circumstances, you will, I trust, be thoroughly convinced, that no measure has been left unattempted for our protection from foreign enemies. As to our domestic foes, those vipers who prey upon our constitution, who thwart our councils, and impede our measures, it may perhaps be otherwise. If any part of the ministerial conduct be reprehensible, it is that instead of lopping the branches, no stroke has been aimed at the root of rebellion; that the voice of sedition has been suffered to prevail in the very heart of our kingdom, unnoticed and unpunished; that traitors and incendiaries have not been dragged forth to public view, and sacrificed to public justice. Here, indeed, adminis-
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tration seem to have forgotten, that tacit concessions encourage encroachments. But though we lament the ingratitude which has resulted from their conduct, we cannot but admire the lenity which produced it.

Many arguments, drawn from want of information, will no doubt be urged, to justify the policy of the removal of the ministers. Here I must observe, that it is impossible for us to judge of their official information, or their want of it, from the assertion of one party, or the silence of the other. An opposition, who will not be impeded in their machinations by any obstacle, however detrimental to their country, have every advantage over those whom they oppose. Their operations may be carried on with double vigour, because on their part no caution is necessary;

cessary ; whatever they know they will discover ; for by this mean, they may answer the purpose of imposing themselves on the public for men of information ; and may perhaps provoke a discovery of that, which ought to be concealed. But the ministers labour under every disadvantage. Secrecy is one of their duties : it is their business to conceal the source of information, and the measures which they have devised, if they would preserve the channels of the one, or prevent the frustration of the other : they cannot, therefore, alledge facts in their defence, but must submit to the momentary triumph of their enemies, who would endeavour to persuade us, that their arguments are unanswerable, because they are not immediately answered. Were they, through the consciousness of integrity, so unguarded, as to be drawn into such a snare, they would establish their honesty, at the expence of their wisdom ;

dom; they would vindicate their own character, at the hazard of national safety. Accusations of this stamp therefore must remain unrefuted, till the situation of affairs no longer forbids the discovery of their motives. Then may they shine with additional lustre. Then may they shew, that neither the desire of refuting the most vindictive of personal attacks, nor the warmth of resentment arising from aspersion, could betray them into a sacrifice of the interests of their country.

But let us, my fellow-countrymen! examine, who these men are, that have hitherto presumed, and will no doubt continue to arraign the conduct of our ministers. Allowing, for an instant, that every thing has not been effected, which our situation warranted us to expect; is it to them we are to fly for refuge?

fuge? From them are we to hope for a better administration? whilst they were employed by government, and most of them have been so, were their actions proof against reproach? Enquire into the causes of their dismissal from the offices which they held; what will be the result of such enquiry? We shall find that some by dissipation rendered themselves totally unfit to superintend pecuniary transactions: that some from disaffection to the crown made it impolitic to commit any of its interests to their care: that others by disclosing the most secret councils of the state naturally destroyed that confidence, which was of necessity reposed in them: and that others left the cabinet, because, truly, they could not convert it into a divan, and be themselves the grand-viziers.—In short, we shall find, that almost all have been fairly tried, and almost

most all have been justly rejected. But omitting their official errors, has their conduct since the commencement of the present war exhibited such policy, or such integrity, that in times of danger, they should be entrusted with the national safety? does it appear, that during this period, they have been actuated by the good of their country? have they endeavoured to secure her happiness by any efforts to distress her enemies? have they assiduously concealed the vulnerable parts of our empire, and hid from our foes the state of our resources? in short, have they, in any one instance, pursued that line of conduct which is the characteristic of true Patriotism, or conformed to that plan of unanimity, which they have so much recommended? the answer is too obvious to require deliberation. In none. Every art, that invention could suggest, they have practis-

ed to obstruct our operations. At a time when it required the maturest deliberation to devise means for our defence, instead of assisting with their councils, they endeavoured to divert the attention of our ministers from matters of importance, by instituting enquiries into pretended abuses, which, had they existed, though of consequence to the individuals they concerned, were trivial, in comparison with the affairs of the nation. They will tell you perhaps, as they have already told you, that in vain should they have offered their assistance, that rejection was sure to attend every tender of their services. The falsehood of the assertion we have too fatally experienced, to give it credence. Too often has the noise of faction been suffered to stagger the resolution of our councils. Admitting it however to be true, can it justify them in counteracting the endeavours

vours of government against our enemies? shall salvation be denied to Britain, because they are not the ministers to effect it? yes; they avow the principle. In parliament they have declared, that their opposition to the present ministry should never cease, however fatal its effects to their country. Can this be Patriotism? modern Patriotism it may, but the Patriots of antiquity were proof even against the obloquy of reproach, and the malignity of persecution. Attend, my fellow countrymen! but for a moment, to the noble conduct of Pedaretus. How different from that of the minority! When rejected from being one of the council of the three hundred, he rejoiced, and with the most animated zeal for his country exclaimed, “I am
 “happy, Sparta has found three hundred
 “citizens, better than myself.” So far from concealing our vulnerable parts,
 every

every place, which could possibly admit the lawless violence of depredation, has been blazoned to our enemies, and the world. We have been represented as in a state of deplorable imbecillity; our West-India islands have been pointed out as the proper objects of attack; Ireland has been described as in a state equally defenceless in point of force, and more likely from disgust to admit the invasions of an enemy; they have declared us bankrupt in finance, and the nation on the eve of ruin. Such is the picture, which this virtuous opposition, this band of Patriots have drawn, to discover, as they profess, the errors of ministerial conduct to the people. But surely they might have known, that had the representation been true; the exhibition of it, in times of such danger, would only damp the ardour of the people, and tend to promote a national despondence. They
might

might have known, that it would serve to animate the enemy ; for too well for this country do they know, that there are miscreants, impious and base enough, in violation of every duty which should be the bond of Britons, to convey to them intelligence of our most interesting concerns. Had the pictures, which they have drawn, corresponded with truth, however good the intention, the impolicy of the act must surely be admitted. If on the contrary they are false ; and the vast force which we have in all parts of the globe, the state of our trade, the exertions of government for our defence, will soon convince you whether they be so or not ; there is no term, which language can afford, harsh enough to express a due detestation of actions so gross and perfidious.

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In what manner have they endeavoured to unite the different parts of the empire in mutual exertions for defence? not contented with our various difficulties, under the specious colour of friendship for Ireland, they have fomented her jealousy: under pretence of pity to her distress, they have started customs as oppressions, which till then were acceded to as rights: to her have they represented our legislature as an harsh oppressor, deaf to the voice of complaint, and obdurate to the cry of grievance: to her have we been depicted as tyrants, striking at the root of liberty; and to her has the conduct of America been prescribed as the object of imitation.

These exhortations, and this example, it is to be lamented, have had too much effect. The common people have caught the infection of sedition, and their

leaders the contagion of treachery. Nor can we much wonder that a blaze is blown up in the breasts of those, among whom the sparks of licentiousness are seldom extinct; when we consider the means that have been used to kindle the flame. The leaders petitioned for leave to arm themselves and their dependants against the common foe; government relying on their faith as subjects, granted the request. How is this confidence requited? no sooner was the purpose effected, than instead of uniting in defence of the empire, they publicly avow themselves opposers of the sister country, till she makes concessions injurious to her interests, and repugnant to dependence. We too well know the influence, that the pretended espousal of a public cause has over a popular assembly, to be astonished at the effect which such a declaration produced. The idea of having arms

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in their hands, added to the prospect of being able, for a time, to oppose all legal government, had too much the charm of novelty to be relinquished. The insurgents (if the term may be allowed) determine to unite in support of privileges, infringed they know not how; and in demanding concessions, of they know not what. But tho' this voice of sedition is represented as the voice of a whole people, you will readily comprehend, that forty thousand men compose not the Irish nation; and altho' this epidemic furor may for some time rage in our sister kingdom, yet I trust that the disease will soon be remedied. When the fervor of defection begins to cool, and reason reassumes her reign, our fellow subjects will be too sensible of their own interests, to relinquish their real friends, their only protectors in the hour of danger,

ger, merely to advance the interested views of moody malecontents.

I cannot but remark, my fellow-countrymen ! an originality of character peculiar to the present minority. Many a time has England beheld a party opposing her *Governors* ; but never, since the Revolution till the present period, has she beheld one struggling with the *Government itself*. Oft has she seen men desirous of discomfiting an administration ; but never till now has she seen it attempted at the risque of the constitution.

Insidious as the conduct of opposition has been, in every respect it is equalled by their meanness ; not satisfied with reprobating the public conduct of administration, they have descended to the poor subterfuge of wounding their private

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feelings.

feelings. The finest sensations have been no protection against their malignity. Even domestic calamities have been made the sport of their malevolence.

In short, the whole of their conduct has been (to use the words of an elegant and learned writer) “ distinguished
 “ by plebeian grossness and savage inde-
 “ cency. To misrepresent the actions
 “ and the principles of their enemies is
 “ common to all parties ; but the info-
 “ lence of invective and brutality of re-
 “ proach are peculiar to this. All other
 “ parties, however enraged at each other,
 “ have agreed to treat the throne with
 “ decency ; but these partizans have
 “ attacked not only the authority, but
 “ the character of their sovereign ; and
 “ have endeavoured, surely without ef-
 “ fect, to alienate the affections of the
 “ people from the only king, who for
 “ almost

“ almost a century has much appeared
 “ to desire, or much endeavoured to
 “ deserve them. They have insulted
 “ him with rudeness, and with menaces,
 “ which were never excited by the gloo-
 “ my fullness of William, even when
 “ half the nation denied him their alle-
 “ giance ; nor by the dangerous bigotry
 “ of James, unless when he was finally
 “ driven from his palace ; and with
 “ which scarcely the open hostilities of
 “ rebellion ventured to vilify the un-
 “ happy Charles, even in the remarks of
 “ the cabinet of Naseby.”

Are these then the men to whom you
 would apply for advice or protection in
 the hour of necessity ? To whom you
 would trust the management of your af-
 fairs ? If a uniform opposition to mea-
 sures devised for the public safety ; if a
 patronage of the American cause, and
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consequently an implicit approbation of the conduct of her allies ; if an attempt to dismember the empire of one of her noblest parts ; if an eminent singularity in what is bad, demand the gratitude of the public ; then have they the highest claim to attention and respect. But should you think, any or either of these circumstances sufficient to incapacitate for the task of government ; then must you reject every idea of admitting such a party into office.

Tho' their conduct may have proceeded from no worse a motive, than a desire to remove the ministers ; tho' it were only to effect this purpose, that they have quitted the paths of honour and of justice, and have not faltered at the idea of sacrificing the interests of their country ; surely this alone is sufficient to disqualify them for public favor, and for public

public trust. But if it should be thought, (though heaven forbid that it should be authorized by truth !) that they have spoken the language of their hearts ; that seriously they have been pleading the cause of our enemies ; that secretly they have been disseminating the seeds of discord through the land ; that the air of triumph with which they welcome our misfortunes, that the voice of sorrow with which they bemoan our success, be not affected, but real ; that their hope is malevolence, and their good is evil ; with the utmost caution they should be avoided.

If then the ministers have not exerted that vigour, which the times required, yet still are esteemed preferable to their opponents ; much more will you think them so, when you see, as I trust you do, that they have left no-

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thing unattempted for our safety ; that whenever the execution of their measures has been frustrated, it has resulted from a baneful influence prevailing over those whom they employed. And being convinced from the whole conduct of opposition ; from their attachment to interest ; from their eager pursuit of emolument ; from the mischiefs which they have effected, with opportunities small in comparison to those which would be afforded, by admitting them to the guidance of the state ; that far from having any thing to hope, you have every thing to dread from them as ministers ; you will, I trust, rely on the wisdom and integrity of those in office, who only want your sincere assistance, to make the English nation the terror of her enemies, and the admiration of her friends.

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Should the fatal period ever arrive, when the minority will be admitted to the administration of affairs; with truth may we deplore the misery of our country.—“ Had Rome, says Dr. Johnson, “ fallen by the Catalinarian conspiracy, “ she might have consoled her fate, by “ the greatness of her destroyers; but “ what could have alleviated the disgrace of England, if her government “ had been changed by a Tyler or a “ Ket.”

A few days, my fellow countrymen! will determine, whether the government can be shaken by empty noise, and whether the faction, which depends on its influence, has not deceived alike the public and itself. I cannot better conclude these remarks, which I have submitted to your consideration, than by wishing, with all who wish well to the

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public,

public, " That the next session of parli-
 " ament may act upon the principles of
 " the last, with more constancy and high-
 " er spirit ; that the nation will unite in
 " a general abhorrence of those, who by
 " deceiving the credulous with fictitious
 " mischiefs, overbearing the weak by
 " audacity of falsehood, by appealing to
 " the judgment of ignorance, and flat-
 " tering the vanity of meanness, by slan-
 " dering honesty, and insulting dignity,
 " have gathered round them whatever
 " the kingdom can supply of base, and
 " gross, and profligate ; and raised by
 " merit to this bad eminence, arrogate
 " to themselves the name of Patriots."



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